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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1876



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BULGARIA

BRIEFS

DYULGEROV RECEIVES MOZAMBIKAN VISITOR--Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, has received the visiting chairman of the National Commission for Implementing the Councils on Production of Mozambique, Augusto (?Makao). Information on the activity and tasks of the trade unions was exchanged and the development of cooperation between the trade unions was exchanged and the development of cooperation between the trade unions of the two countries was highly appraised. Readiness was expressed to further deepen this cooperation as well as to safeguard peace and prosperity in the two countries and throughout the world. [Text] [AU102030 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 10 Apr 81]

SRI LANKA CP CHAIRMAN CONGRATULATED--BCP Central Committee Secretary General Todor Zhivkov has sent a greetings telegram to S. Wickremasinghe, chairman of the Sri Lanka Communist Party Central Committee, conveying cordial and fraternal greetings and good wishes on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Todor Zhivkov emphasizes in his greetings message that the Bulgarian communists and Bulgarian people know S. Wickremasinghe well as a worker for fraternal cooperation between our two parties and friendly ties between our peoples, as well as an eminent figure of the international communist movement and an active fighter for the purity and cohesion of this movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In conclusion, Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed wishes to the chairman of the Sri Lanka Communist Party Central Committee for good health and successes in the struggle for the bright future of the Sri Lanka's working people, for the triumph of the cause of peace and for the world progress. [Text] [AU111832 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 11 Apr 81]

SPACE SHUTTLE LAUNCH--Today, from NASA's launch platform in Cape Kennedy, the space shuttle Columbia was launched. Its crew is composed of Flight Captain John Young and astronaut Robert Crippen, both military pilots. Here are some details: The space ship will orbit the earth 36 times, and after 54 hours and 30 minutes will land in California or New Mexico, in accordance with the meteorological and other conditions. Alternatives on stopping the flight and landing in other places, even in the ocean, have been prepared. The shuttle can take cargo up to 30 tons, and conduct various kinds of scientific research. However, a large part of its program is marked "secret," because this part will serve military needs. The NEW YORK TIMES writes that the shuttle can take laser weapons into orbit according to the Pentagon plan on U.S. military superiority. [Text] [AU121756 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 81]

IMPORTANCE OF BCP CONGRESS--Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 7 April on pages 1,2 carries a 2,000-word article by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, entitled "Historic Event for the Party, Country and Army." The article describes the importance of the "BCP April line," stressing "the invaluable part of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general," in implementing this line, something which prompted "the communists and people to justifiably call him the architect of this vital line." Stressing the importance of cooperation with the armies of the socialist countries, Dzhurov mentions the "rich experience and fraternal assistance of the Soviet army," because of which "the Bulgarian army is today a well organized power with modern equipment." Reviewing the enthusiasm with which the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress have been greeted by the soldiers, Dzhurov quotes Zhivkov's report to the 12th BCP Congress, that "together with the soldiers of the invincible Soviet army and the armies of the other socialist countries--Warsaw Pact members--the Bulgarian People's Army will remain an even more firm, confident and loyal guard of our national borders and the socialist achievements of the people's peaceful work." [Editorial Report]

GREETINGS FROM HONDURAS CP--BCP Central Committee Secretary General Todor Zhivkov has received a greetings message from (Rigoberto Padillo Rouge), secretary general of the Honduras Communist Party Central Committee, on the occasion of the 12th BCP Congress. We enthusiastically acclaim the 12th Congress of the BCP, the message says. This significant forum was held under fatal conditions for world peace, when the U.S. imperialism is miserably flying the banner of anticommunism. In the Bulgarian communists we, communists of Honduras, acclaim the heirs of the immortal Georgi Dimitrov and the party which, under the guidance of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, is accomplishing the tasks set by him and is also displaying a militant solidarity with all those struggling against the bloody tyrannic governments as well as for democracy, national independence and socialism and also against imperialistic intervention in Central America, the greetings message says in conclusion. [Text] [AU112023 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 11 Apr 81]

BREZHNEV CPCZ SPEECH RELAYED--Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0807 GMT on 7 April, instead of its regular 0800 GMT news broadcast, carries a live relay of the speech by Leonid Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the 7 April morning session of the 16th CPCZ Congress. Brezhnev speaks in Russian and there is no superimposed translation in Bulgarian. The live relay ends at 0837 GMT. [Editorial Report]

SWEDISH SCIENTIST VISIT--Mr (Gunnar Hoppe), president of the Swedish Royal Academy, is on a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of ACAD, Angel Balevski, president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. At the meeting held today between the Swedish guest and the board of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences matters of Bulgaro-Swedish scientific cooperation were discussed. [Text] [AU272026 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 23 Mar 81]

TAKOV, BONEV AT CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the 80th anniversary of the establishment of the local party organization and the 60th anniversary of the Dupnitsa commune was held in the town of Stanke Dimitrov tonight. Peko Takov and Vladimir Bonev and party veterans attended the celebration. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee and on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Peko Takov conveyed greetings to the working people and the communists of the town. He read two greetings letters from Todor Zhivkov to Vlado Penev, a veteran of the local party organization, and to (?Svetka) Zlatanova, the first female partisan in Bulgaria, in connection with their being awarded with the Georgi Dimitrov Order. [AU272026 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 24 Mar 81]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMANDER OF POLISH AIR DEFENSE FORCES DISCUSSES THEIR MISSION

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 21, 1-15 Nov 80 pp 801-803

[Interview with Maj Gen Longin Lozowicky, commander of the Polish National Air Defense Command, by LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA]

[Text] The headquarters of the Air Defense Command of the Polish People's Republic is housed in a building on Aleja Zwirka i Wigury, named after two well-known Polish fliers who in 1929 made a flight around Europe and 3 years later won the international challenge contest, which was famous at that time. There is a monument to the participants at the intersection where the Alej starts. The route to the Warsaw-Okecie international airport also runs that way. From the windows of the general work area, one sees the tops of trees and the clear sky. Everything around reminds one of aviation.

[Question] Comrade general, I introduced our conversation for the readers of the Czechoslovak magazine LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA with a description of the surroundings and the atmosphere. I can also add that here in Warsaw the skies are quiet. How long does it take for you to get information on the situation, say, over the Baltic?

[Answer] Not very long. Not only during the day but also at night, we keep watch on our skies 24 hours a day, nonstop. We keep watch and our neighboring countries do so as well. Together we form the air defense system of the Warsaw Pact member states.

[Question] Generally speaking, what are their component elements?

[Answer] They are the various radar services which give warning of any possible threat and provide full information on the air space situation. In the case of a threat, aircraft take off and operations may start for the missile artillery armed with antiaircraft missiles of various types. One should emphasize that the air defense of the ground forces and the navy are on duty along with our air defense troops.

[Question] The air defense troops are a relatively new special branch of the armed forces...

[Answer] As a branch, yes, but air defense was known from World War I when an actual threat from the air appeared. During World War II, the Polish People's Army had an antiaircraft artillery division and air regiments which protected and supported operations of the First and Second armies. Basically they performed the same missions as our national air defense units do today.

[Question] I assume that today you give orders to the same division and regiments with a combat tradition from the years of struggle to free Poland and Europe.

[Answer] I would rather say that they are components of the national air defense forces. Yes, that is true. For example, the Warsaw fighter regiment, the oldest in the People's Air Force, and the 11th Fighter Aviation Regiment, which took part in the Berlin operation, are units in the national air defense forces. Others were gradually rearmed with missiles which replaced the classic antiaircraft cannon. The radiotechnical troops who have new equipment and capabilities are a relatively new type. However, they have their predecessor units which are the observation companies from the period of World War II. Twenty years ago, in connection with the increasing potential threat from the air, special units of the national air defense troops were created; thus a new type of armed force which has its particular missions was born.

[Question] In the Polish People's Army there are national air defense troops. What about the armies of the other socialist countries?

[Answer] As I have already said, the Polish national air defense troops are a component part of the integrated Warsaw Pact air defense system. The actual organization in the various armies depends on the accepted concepts, the capabilities and the defense potential itself. However, I can say that our Czechoslovak neighbors have a system similar to that of Poland.

[Question] That is certainly helpful for cooperative action...

[Answer] Obviously. The ideological unity and similar goals of our fraternal peoples is expressed in the very close allied cooperative action and the armed forces working together. Our Czechoslovak comrades have a very important position, being in the first line of potential threat in the integrated defense system. It is no secret that opposite the CSSR, on FRG soil, is the largest grouping of NATO troops. The watchfulness of the members of the Czechoslovak air defense is a decisive factor, since from a practical standpoint it gives us some lead time so that we can take certain actions. We can rely on them, but we do not stop there. Our cooperation with the Czechoslovak army is therefore broader than that; it includes communications, as well as radar services, and permeates in detail to all levels of our organization. There is mutual cooperative work of staffs and individual units, common and normal personal contact and friendly connections between Polish and Czechoslovak members of the air defense. It also frequently happens that a Pole lands at a Czechoslovak army airfield or a Czechoslovak pilot at a Polish airfield.

[Question] Pilots, missile artillerymen, members of the radar and communications services...The air defense troops require knowledge of various skills and do practical work in a variety of fields. What education does the cadre of the national air defense troops have?

[Answer] That is a complicated question. For example, take the air force. One type of aircraft is not enough for attacking an air target. Just a pilot and an aircraft is also not enough, as it was during World War II. Today a pilot guided by a navigator on the ground uses a system of navigation and communications and launches missiles without even seeing the enemy. It is the same thing in the case of the missile artillery and the radar system as well. One system is not enough and there

are various requirements according to the specific case of attacks and the enemy capabilities. At the same time, one must take into consideration time and the tempo of the operations which create a need for automation. With such complexity of the equipment used and its differing nature we have to have a wide variety of skilled personnel in the air defense troops. Basically career officers have a higher school education and noncommissioned officers have a middle school technical education.

[Question] This demands development of military schooling in skills to a high level.

[Answer] The pilots' school, the "school of eagles," the higher officers school in Deblin, the radiotechnical school in Jelenia Gora, the communicators school in Zegrze, the school for missile officers is in Torun and that for members of air defense in Koszalin. In other schools, the training is directed at producing so-called junior skilled workers, warrant officers and the noncommissioned officer cadre.

[Question] Service in national air defense units demands vigilance, concentration, responsibility and self-discipline from each member. This certainly is not easy, but doubtless there are attractions...

[Answer]...and therefore we do not lack people who are interested, young people who eagerly report to us in great numbers or ask the local commissions to serve their basic military service in one of the air defense units.

[Question] Is this motivated by the attractiveness of the duty?

[Answer] There are various motives and I believe there are several factors at work at once, such as an effort at serving the motherland in a responsible, forward position, or interest in modern equipment and trying to master it. The patriotic attitude is important. During service in the air defense troops they can get qualified for interesting employment or improve on their existing knowledge which will stand them in good stead in civilian life. Specialists from the air defense troops who have finished their basic military service find work very fast, as many enterprises go after them.

[Question]...that certainly includes the Polist LOT airlines!

[Answer] Of course. I would not be in error to state that the overwhelming majority of the flying personnel and the ground crew workers of LOT, people with the highest qualifications, got their training in the national air defense troops.

[Question] The skilled knowledge gained during military services thus contributes to society as a whole. But it certainly is not easy to achieve advanced skills and its ideal form...

[Answer] The training process is a continuous one. There is a kind of testing period for the soldiers in exercises, especially field exercises at the training areas. There we again encounter our Czechoslovak comrades and members of the Soviet Army and other Warsaw Pact armies. In addition we have annual combat competitions. Their participants can win the title of "master of air combat" or "best navigator." The radiotechnical companies compete for the title of "best company," the same as the

fighter aviation squadrons and missile subunits. Members of practically all subunits of the national air defense troops participate in the competition. One can say with satisfaction that comrades from the Warsaw Pact armies also make use of our Polish experience; they organize similar contests and competitions.

[Question] Military life is not limited just to the garrison, duty, exercises at the firing ranges and participation in competitions...

[Answer] Military duties, the carrying out of combat missions, are always primary and most important, but the nature of the armed forces of the socialist state gives rise as well to their contacts with society which take various forms.

The national air defense troops, as well as the ground forces, air forces, or navy, prepare thousands of young people for life, or I should say for mature life. Military services makes it possible for them to acquire knowledge, forms the members' attitude toward people and life, and also develops character, educating them toward conscious discipline and responsibility. It is no accident that practically all subunits of the national air defense troops cooperate with youth organizations, with the Union of Polish Teachers, and with local organs. The peculiarity of national air defense troops is their so-called "green garrisons" in regions very remote from large cities and industrial centers. The participation of our members in public life, the cultural creative activities of clubs and artistic groups, the cultivation of technology and modern organizational methods, as well as the assistance of our specialists and civilian workers to civilian institutes and agencies, is understandable.

[Question] You said "civilian workers"...

[Answer] Right, we have a lot of them. They are instructors in Young Pioneer Rover groups, are active in aeroclubs, radiotechnical and model clubs, amateur radio groups, and organize living and inspire the youth from villages and small towns to socially beneficial actions.

[Question] That is an example of ideological involvement which at the same time takes the form of recreation...

[Answer] Yes, because service in the national air defense troops is demanding. Pilots experience accelerations and increases in weight which the average person could not bear. Two flights a day amounts to 12 to 14 hours of strenuous physical labor. Add to that the emotional stress connected with the feeling of responsibility and level of complexity of the missions. It is a gigantic responsibility since the national air defense system provides not only safe skies in the military sense, but also safety from the standpoint of transport, medical or agricultural aviation. Civil aircraft fly in air corridors for which we are responsible and which we control. We thus also act as the flight safety service...

[Question] Our conversation is taking place just before Polish People's Army Day. So the usual question is: How will the members of the national air defense troops welcome that day?

[Answer] To the usual question we will give the usual, but at the same time entirely correct answer: with good work and conscientious carrying out of their duties.

[Question] In conclusion, I have a question which I formed in my mind as soon as I stepped into your office: How does one become a general and commander of the national air defense troops?

[Answer] There is no ideal way, but you obviously want my biography. So, I started in this field of service quite early, in 1943, in the antifascist self-defense battalions in Wolin. From there I went into the regular army in 1944. I went through officer's school 'n the Soviet Union and was immediately posted first into the First Polish Army and then to the Second. I finished up the war in Melnik where I had the honor to participate in the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Afterwards, after the victory, I continued on the usual path--service, advancement, studies at the General Staff Academy. In 1970, I was promoted to brigadier general, 8 years later to major general, and in 1977 I was appointed commander of the national air defense troops.

[Question] The units which always see to it that the skies are clear...

[Answer] They may be overcast, but the skies must be quiet, without any uninvited guests. This is indeed the most important thing for Poles, for Czechs and Slovaks, for all socialist societies, and not only for them, but for all people in the world as well.

[Interviewer] Comrade general, thank you for the interview.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEVELOPMENT OF NVA ANTITANK WEAPONS REVIEWED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 3, 1981 signed to press 12 Jan 81 p 8

[Article by 'H.K./W.K.: 'The Antitank Rifles of the National People's Army (NVA)"]

[Text] When the first NVA regiments were formed in 1956, they were first equipped with numerous Soviet weapons systems which had proven themselves during World War II and which were at that time still considered to be up to par. Among them were also small arms. During those first years, the NVA squad, consisting of a squad leader and nine men, had two submachine guns 41 (PPSch-41), one light machine gun DP and six carbine rifles 44. Only the squad's armor-piercing weapon represented a Soviet postwar development. This was the 40 mm antitank rifle RPG-2, which had been developed at the beginning of the 1950's. This recoilless weapon for the cumulative supercaliber tank grenade PG-2 was designed to engage both mobile and immobile armored targets at a distance of up to 150 m; best hit results were achieved with direct aiming at a distance of 100 m.

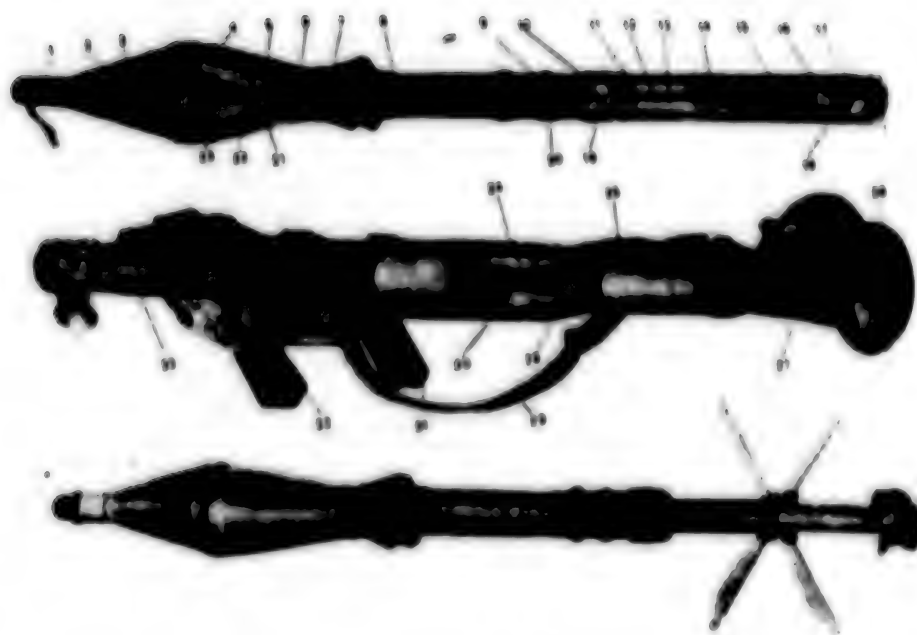
When the first NVA units received the RPG-2, this weapon had completely replaced the 14.5 mm antitank rifles PTRS (manufactured by Simonov) and the PTRD (manufactured by Degtyarov; see VA No 26, 1979, p 8) in the Soviet Union. Already in the last years of the war, it had become clear that these rifles and their traditional ammunition were no longer effective against the improved armor of the combat wagons, at least not from the front. This fact was not changed by new developments such as the 20 mm antitank rifle with horizontal wedge-type breechblock, manufactured in 1942 by F.I. Rashkov, S.I. Yermolayev and W.E. Slukhotski, or the antitank rifle for special 14.5 mm cartridges with very high initial velocity, manufactured in the same year by N.N. Blum. What grew was the demand for a light antitank weapon suitable for close combat, which had great penetration power. A further requirement was that the weapon be sufficiently manageable so that the soldier could carry it under all combat conditions. It was also important that it could be carried and operated by one man only. The approximately 2 m-long and 20 kg-heavy PTRS/PTRD needed two men for transport. One thing was clear to the experts: It could only be an antitank rifle using reactive grenades with hollow explosive charge. With a relatively low speed on impact, they have great penetration power, and since they are recoilless, they can be simply and easily constructed, and produced relatively cheaply.

The USSR had already begun to develop this type of weapon at the beginning of the 1930's, but had discontinued it because the manufacturers were concentrating on the "Katyusha," which at that time promised more success. One example of the forerunners of the later recoilless antitank rifles is the RS-65 (RS--Raketniy Snaryad--rocket projectile). This 65 mm antitank rifle had been developed by B.S. Petropavlovski with a group around Professor Biagonravov. With the RS-65, a tube enclosed the entire projectile. The RPG-2, on the other hand, fires supercaliber grenades: One part of the grenade has a diameter which is larger than the tube.

From 1964 on, the NVA was equipped with a new antitank rifle, the RPG-7/7W. Therefore, the RPG-2 was eliminated from the NVA equipment in 1965. In addition to its other advantages (see table), the RPG-7 has a range which is 3 times as long as that of its predecessor. Externally visible differences are its optical gun sight and its handle behind the trigger. The very reliable trigger and firing devices were taken from the RPG-2. The tube, which is made out of light metal, has no pulls. After the firing pin hits the fuse of the propellant charge, the latter ignites, the resulting gases, with the help of a small turbine built into the trunk, give the grenade a turn around a longitudinal axis and a small initial velocity (V). The grenade leaves the tube, the stabilizers attached to the trunk open up, the fuse ignites, and, at a certain distance from the man, the cruise engine takes over. This triples the initial velocity. After the propellant charge is burnt up, the grenade continues in free flight. If it hits a target, the fuse ignites, the explosives detonate, and the cumulative rays pierce the armor.

Depending on terrain conditions, the antitank rifle can be fired in a prone, kneeling or standing position. It is advantageous to use the cover, which had been sought for camouflage, also as support. The RPG-7/7W is used primarily by motorized infantry units (every squad has one RPG-7 in addition to its Kalashnikov submachine guns, the light machine guns and the turret armor of their combat vehicles. Together with the guided antitank rockets, antitank canons and antitank handgrenades, this weapon becomes part of a system of weapons engaging combat vehicles. They must engage armored enemy vehicles at short distances, where the guided antitank rockets cannot be effective. The antitank rifles can, of course, also engage houses and bunkers. For training purposes, there is the simulated PUS-7 with an imitation warhead and a 7.62 mm liner.

Item	RPG-2	RPG-7
Caliber in mm		
Tube	40	40
Projectile	80	85
Greatest velocity in m/s	84	300
Length in mm		
Antitank rifle	950	950
Projectile	560	640
Weight in kg		
Antitank rifle	2.75	6.3 (with optical gun sight)
Projectile	1.62	2.2
Gun Sight Range in m	150	500
Part of NVA equipment since	1956	1964
Eliminated	1965	—



Antitank Rifle RPG-7

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Fuse head | 18. Tracer composition |
| 2. Ballistic cap | 19. Detonator cap |
| 3. Circuit pin | 20. Retarding device |
| 4. Cumulation funnel | 21. Shielding device |
| 5. Grenade casing | 22. Contact device |
| 6. Bottom of fuse | 23. Explosive charge |
| 7. Jet block | 24. Jet |
| 8. Propellant charge | 25. Straps with protecting covers |
| 9. Shaft | 26. Seats of valve |
| 10. Base plate | 27. Tube funnel |
| 11. Casing | 28. Widening |
| 12. Black powder head | 29. Carrying straps |
| 13. Stabilizing surfaces | 30. Gasket ring |
| 14. Black powder axion | 31. Handle |
| 15. Starter propellant charge | 32. Grip |
| 16. Turbine | 33. Front part of tube |
| 17. Foamplast plug | |

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CZINEGE, KADAR ADDRESS ARMY COMMANDERS MEETING

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 13, 28 Mar 81 pp 7-9

[Article: "Let Us Strengthen Our Defense in Harmony With the Interests of Our Homeland"]

[Text] A commanders' conference of the Hungarian People's Army took place on 18 March. Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, participated in and spoke at the meeting. Those present included Mihaly Koron, a member of the Political Committee and a secretary of the Central Committee, Janos Borbandi, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers, Sandor Racz, a department chief in the Central Committee, members of the Central Committee and Col Gen Nikolai Silchenko, representative in Hungary of the supreme commander of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact.

Col Gen Karoly Csemi, state secretary for the Ministry of Defense, presided at the conference and greeted Comrade Janos Kadar with sincere comradely respect in the name of all personnel of the People's Army. Then, speaking of the purpose of the commanders' conference, he emphasized that the conferences regularly held at the turning of five-year plan periods play an important role in the life of the army, in evaluating the preceding period and in defining the tasks standing before us.

Following the opening words General of the Army Lajos Czinege, Minister of Defense, gave a speech.

United--For the Realization of Our Goals

In the introduction to his speech the minister of defense expressed his conviction that the commanders' conference, with an awareness of work done conscientiously and honestly and, as a whole, successfully, could sum up the lessons and experiences of the past plan period and could outline the chief tasks of the next plan period.

He then dealt with the chief aspects of the international military policy situation. He pointed out that in the second half of the past 5 years it became increasingly obvious that in contrast to the just hopes after the Helsinki conference it was not possible to extend detente to the military area. The leading imperialist circles--with the militarist forces of the United States at their head--started an increasingly open and deliberate counterattack against detente, in the interest of changing to their benefit the balance of forces which has developed.

In their aspirations they give a crucial role to military factors, which was expressed in the fact--among other things--that the plans adopted and approved at the 1977 and May 1978 sessions of the leading bodies of NATO in essence define up to the end of the century an increased pace for and the directions of armaments development. This is also shown by the postponement of ratification of SALT-2, by the December 1979 decision concerning deployment of "Euro-rockets," and by the creation of a quick reaction force--in plain language, an intervention force. The United States and its partners in NATO are spending unprecedented sums for armaments. They assign a significant role to an advantage in technical quality indicators in order to ensure for themselves the possibility of a "first strike," the unexpected eruption of war and thus so-called "survival." This goal is served by that "presidential directive 59" which--among other things--tries to make acceptable the political and military possibility of a limited nuclear war.

The armaments plans of NATO are unambiguously directed at acquiring superiority of strength so that, in the possession thereof, they can force their will on the socialist countries and the peoples of the world with the well known methods of political diktat. So we must reckon with the fact that under circumstances more complex than heretofore the worldwide struggle of the forces of socialism and of imperialism is taking place in ever wider dimensions, in which the chief arena continues to be Europe.

The countries of the socialist community are striving with one accord to preserve peace, create international security and continue the detente process, are striving for disarmament. This is the basic goal of their united foreign policy, which was well expressed by the highly significant peace initiatives voiced by Comrade Brezhnev at the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the same time the world situation, filled with crises and dangers, warns us and obliges us to show increased vigilance.

Comrade Czirinegi emphasized that under no circumstances should we permit a change in the balance of forces which has developed. In the present situation one of the chief guarantees of the defense of peace and of socialist achievements is maintaining the defensive strength of the socialist countries at a high level. This is a historic obligation for our peoples in the interest of which they are ready to make the necessary sacrifices.

In harmony with the above the supreme party and state leadership of the Hungarian People's Republic decided, despite the well known difficult economic situation of the country, that we must make increased efforts to strengthen defense, in the interest of fulfilling our alliance obligations. This finds expression in the resolution of the 12th congress of our party which states: "In harmony with the interests of our homeland and in accordance with the requirements of the international situation we will strengthen our defense and modernize our people's army."

In accordance with this the pertinent party resolution posted the goal of continuing a smooth and proportional quality development of the army, increasing the level of technical services and perfecting its organizations. In the course of development we must ensure that we keep pace with the battle readiness of the enemy which can be expected to face us, that we strengthen armed friendship with the Soviet army and the other fraternal armies and that we adapt to their development.

With Modern Tools

In the next part of his speech General of the Army Lajos Czinege analyzed as a chief question group the technical development of the army. He emphasized that technical development is the basis of and the chief tool for increasing the battle readiness of the troops. He expressed his conviction that if we conceive of technical development correctly, in a complex manner, and prepare for it and carry it out circum-spectly, in an organized way, then this will also put our affairs in order in many other areas of our life. It will help us in areas where we now know that we must improve our work, for example in regard to planning and foresight, improving the well-ordered life of the troops and their service and working conditions and in-creasing the organized nature of military life. The technical modernization of our people's army--in accordance with the highest party and state decisions--will be aimed for a long time at quality development. It is natural that in many areas this will necessarily be accompanied by quantitative growth as well.

It is a defining characteristic of this plan period that in parallel with develop-ment--while maintaining battle readiness and preparedness at a high level--we must carry out a conversion to an 18 month service period and a 5 day work week and a suitable modernization of the basic training, training and rotation schedule. The years ahead of us will be characterized by a system of stricter demands in regard to management and by increased requirements in regard to efficiency and conserva-tion.

The minister of defense dealt in detail with the basic training and training of troops in the people's army:

"When we speak with pride of the fact," Comrade Czinege said, "that our army was capable of adopting and ensuring modern technology on a mass scale and that this became a factor increasing tactical value in a brief time then this is at the same time a recognition of the devoted and successful work being done in the area of basic training and training. Our commanders, staffs and troops have carried out successfully an entire array of exercises of different types. They acquitted themselves with honor in such highly significant coalition and national exercises as Soyuz, Shield, Armed Friendship, Bakony, Fortress, etc. It is gratifying that our troops proved to be strong in terrain exploitation, maneuvering and cooperation between branches and special troops. This is proven by the higher unit and unit exercises carried out by the troops, which were successful without exception and nearly 40 percent of which received a "good" evaluation."

In listing the results which prove the effectiveness of training the minister also mentioned that the success of firing with infantry weapons was very high, 96 per-cent; almost 70 percent of the live firing done in unit received a "good" evalua-tion.

The good results constantly obtained with large weapons--artillery guns, rockets, aircraft--are gratifying. Within this all firings by the rocket subunits of home air defense and by fighter pilots achieved good or outstanding results. Special mention should be made of the operations rocket unit, which has achieved outstanding firing results for nearly two decades, with great honor and respect for the Hungarian People's Army.

The high level tactical and firing results achieved by the troops and the ever improving leadership ability of our command personnel show the constantly improving, conscientious, professional and successful work of our training bases, centers and study institutions--including the noncommissioned officer training bases, the military academies, the military academies and study institutions of the Soviet Union and the Miklos Zrinyi Military Academy. The command and teaching staffs deserve recognition and gratitude for their high level training and educating work.

Comrade Czinege emphasized that great attention must be turned to constantly increasing the tactical and strategic training of professional personnel. An important requirement in regard to training and further training of professional personnel is adequate knowledge of new technology being deployed and mastering its use not only in those units where it is in use but for every officer and noncommissioned officer whose assignment requires it.

In the interest of improving the organized nature and effectiveness of further training there must be an increase in regular study course further training and assignments. Commanders must ensure the time needed for further training by every means--improving the organization and planned nature of work, eliminating superfluous administration and by being more demanding and determined. Everyone should have his own internal demand for self-cultivation and study.

Training is Most Important

Because of the shift to an 18 month service time the internal substantive requirements of training and many elements of the system for it had to be modified. By shortening the service time there will unavoidably be less time for training soldiers and subunits. Although a number of measures have been taken to compensate for this, training time as a whole will decrease by about 20-25 percent. This will significantly increase the burden on the professional staff because a soldier must be taught in less time and at the same time their participation in exercises will increase by 25-30 percent--per calendar year.

So greater attention must be given to increasing the effectiveness of basic training and training and there must be ever better use of the time available and of training tools and bases and there must be a purposeful use of experiences.

In work, attitude and in all activity we must realize the strict basic principle that the most important task of an army in peacetime is training. So training time must be protected by every means. In the interest of this we must tighten up training discipline, we must decrease other uses of the soldiers and we must make the system of appointments more strict and better regulated.

With the introduction of 18 month service there is even greater need that the institutions of our society help, with both consciousness education and the teaching of the basics of home defense, the passage of young people from civilian life to military service. The Hungarian Home Defense Association has undertaken and fulfills a great role in this by doing home defense training and education work at the high level of the requirements.

The minister of defense then talked about how the troops of the people's army in the past 5 years successfully carried out the tasks falling to them in economic

construction work--in accordance with the resolution of the 11th congress of the MSZMP. The technical troops working in the economy under a new training system created a value worth 21 billion forints with their work on large stressed investments. They did their work in a more organized fashion than before and increased social respect for their activity with their achievements and diligence.

General of the Army Lajos Czinege then dealt in detail with questions of management. He cautioned that when one talks about management one must always start from the fact that with the material goods made available to the army the troops also receive a trust to use these goods as economically and purposefully as possible in the interest of strengthening the people's army. A trust is also a requirement!

"I ask you to understand and consistently implement two basic ordering principles," the minister emphasized. "Where we receive a definite amount of money let us carry out even more tasks with this money. If, for example, a certain sum is available to us for construction and we carry out some project at less cost we have the possibility of carrying out more construction tasks. But where we appear as direct consumers--especially where the economy is having problems, as in the area of energy use--let us use, through rational conservation, only as much as absolutely necessary."

The comrade minister also noted that in the interest of improving the regulated nature of management there would be a directive putting troop management into a uniform system. This will make it clear that guidance of management is a command activity; the troop commander will manage independently with all material and financial allotments. This will expand the command sphere of authority and broaden the possibility for financial management.

Conservation occupies a central place in management. The army has achieved significant results in this area in years past. For example, during the fifth 5-year plan period the army saved nearly 2 billion forints, including significant quantities of fuel and electric power.

The comrade minister made special mention of the ever more efficient, purposeful work of the many thousands working under the supervision of the Hungarian People's Army in manufacturing, repair and service enterprises and plants of an industrial nature and on tree farms. He expressed his gratitude to the more than 1,500 brigades of enterprises and plants which satisfied with honor their pledges and undertakings in the competition movement started in honor of the 12th congress and achieved significant results which can be expressed in millions of forints. He spoke with recognition of the successful work of the auxiliary farms of the troops.

In the course of efforts aimed at development the leadership of the army turned and is turning special attention to improving the living conditions of personnel--at a rate and on a scale corresponding to the requirements set by unique military tasks and corresponding to the general social level.

Improving Living Conditions

Working and living conditions in the barracks have developed basically according to the plans. The surroundings of the line soldiers have become more homelike and the great majority of the personnel live and work in a modern environment.

Progress has been made in improving maintenance conditions for technical tools but maintenance of general use technology is still an unsolved task. A basic resolution of this tension during the sixth 5-year plan is a definite goal.

Health services have been and will continue to be one of the stressed areas, in the interest of protecting the health of all personnel but especially of the professional staff.

The level of food service is basically satisfactory. Those working in this service are showing great initiative in introducing new, modern forms of service.

As a result of housing construction and modernization more than 9,000 families moved into better housing in the past 5 years. The level of housing supply at present is about 89-90 percent. However there are significant differences among the garrisons in housing supply--primarily in the quality of housing. In a few garrisons housing supply is less favorable than in general; the situation is especially bad in Budapest. The goal in the sixth 5-year plan is to maintain the present level of housing supply; the 9,000 new residences in the plan will contribute to this.

In the previous 5-year plan pay for the professional personnel developed in harmony with the standard of living of society and the possibilities of the people's economy. The minister emphasized that in this plan period also the supreme party and state leadership would attend to and aid moral and material recognition of the work of the professional personnel, civilian workers and conscripts.

In connection with living conditions General of the Army Czinege talked about the 5 day work week. Even considering that due to the mission and basic purpose of the people's army and the requirements made of it it is not possible to limit the working time of the professional personnel to 8 hours a day, the introduction of the 5 day week is possible and necessary. Switching over will require careful preparatory work and will make necessary the circumspect regulation of a number of questions. The basic decision is that the 5 day work week for professional and extended duty personnel and for civilian personnel must be planned in harmony with state provisions. For the conscripts every day of the year--with the exception of holidays--is a work day. Five and a half work days per week must be planned for them. On Saturdays the conscripts will spend 4 hours on maintenance of technical tools, weapons and equipment, repairing training facilities, preserving buildings and cleaning up the barracks.

High Level Awareness of Mission

Speaking of our professional personnel the comrade minister emphasized that the decisive majority of our officers and noncommissioned officers work in a praiseworthy fashion, with devotion and understanding. So great attention must be turned to showing respect for these personnel. He emphasized the importance of further strengthening the work being done in the interest of finding replacements for the cadres of the people's army, work which relies on a broad social base which is already built up and which is working well. It is obvious that we can do all this successfully only with the active aid and cooperation of the regional party and state organs, keeping in mind the basic idea that it is a fundamental interest of the socialist state to ensure that talented, mature members of the generations growing up, members suited for this profession, should choose military service as their life mission.

Following an analysis of the cadre situation the speech dealt with the political state and with the moral and disciplinary situation of the people's army, as an essential area and one determining activity as a whole. The conscientious, devoted and successful execution of the difficult and complex tasks of the past plan period persuasively expresses the political unity of the personnel, of the people's army, and the commitment to our party, our people and our socialist society. The policy of the party was realized in every area of military life, the influence and driving force of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism were strengthened. The moral and disciplinary state of the people's army is strong and balanced and its political and ideological foundation and content have been enriched. The number and ratio of disciplinary actions and legal judgments and of serious personal losses and deaths all decreased in the past 5 years.

At the same time the situation which is favorable as a whole contains a peculiar contradiction. At times of great tasks--large scale military programs and exercises and in dealing with natural catastrophes--the personnel do their work with a high degree of discipline and carry out their service obligations. This shows that our army does have a high degree of discipline awareness, has this capability. But at the same time there have been many unfortunate events, sometimes accompanied by tragic consequences, in everyday life, which indicate a failure to maintain discipline at every moment. An ever greater proportion of violations of discipline and more than half of the fatal accidents, the number of which is not large in itself, take place outside the barracks--on the occasion of leaves and absences.

On the other hand it is reassuring that the crucial majority of the professional personnel are characterized by a high level awareness of mission, by a socialist way of thinking and way of life.

The speech analysed the activity of military leadership organs at various levels. On the basis of the fulfillment of the tasks of the fifth 5-year plan it is just to say--the minister of defense emphasized--that in the past period the military leadership worked effectively as a whole at every level. But in a few respects the intentions were not entirely realized. We must regard it as a chief task to fundamentally change the present complicated and clumsy method of settling affairs.

In all the work aimed at modernizing and improving leadership we must realize that communist style of leadership according to which the superior is well acquainted with and sensitive to the situation and problems of subordinates, setting tasks and requirements, seeing that they are carried out and judging performance strictly. At the same time there should be sincere, good human contacts between superiors and subordinates, between the leaders and those assigned to them--based on mutual trust and respect.

In Fraternal Cooperation

In the concluding part of his speech the minister of defense stated that in the past plan period the people's army strengthened further and is capable at a higher level than before of fulfilling its basic mission in cooperation with the fraternal armies, capable of armed defense of our socialist homeland and the interests of the socialist community. Our people's army effectively participated in the education of our youth and in economic work, together with its basic tasks. All this can be attributed to the conscientious, devoted work of all personnel, especially of the professional

personnel--the commanders and political workers. In large measure the success of the work was determined by the fact that communists working in the army were in the forefront in the solution of our tasks.

The party and KISZ organizations and elected bodies, which work in harmonious cooperation with the military leadership, are working effectively and successfully in the people's army.

In the name of the leadership of the people's army and of all personnel, General of the Army Czinege expressed his appreciation for that comradely, internationalist work which the leaders and workers of the United Armed Forces offered in the development and training of our people's army. He also expressed his appreciation for the comradely aid given by the commanders and staffs of the Soviet Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in our homeland in the solution of common tasks and for their continual, hearty and fruitful cooperation extending to every level.

He also expressed appreciation for the cooperativeness of the leaders of associated armed forces and bodies in regard to the army and for that joint work, bringing good results and based on mutuality, which is contributing ever more effectively to the realization of tasks and to strengthening the defense of the country and the homeland.

In the name of all personnel of the people's army the minister of defense expressed his appreciation to our party, government and people building socialism for their unflagging attention to and care for the creation at a high level of the conditions necessary for the development and maintenance of the army and for improving the living conditions of the personnel. He emphasized that we owe thanks to the supreme political and state leadership, governmental organs and military leadership of the Soviet Union for that many-sided and irreplaceable aid which they offer us in strengthening the defense of our country, in the development, training and technical equipping of our people's army and in the many-sided training of our cadres.

The minister of defense ended his speech with the following sentences:

"As a result of our combined efforts conditions have come into being on the basis of which we can self-confidently go forward in the development and training of our people's army. The supreme party and state leadership has defined clear tasks for the people's army for the sixth 5-year plan. Our plans are realistic in regard to the future. We have the basic personnel, material and social conditions to carry out our tasks. The effective utilization of these depends on us and will be realized in our joint and united efforts, which cannot do without strict organization and planning. The solid political situation of our people's army, the educating-mobilizing work and example of the communists and the stalwartness and readiness for sacrifice of our personnel are the guarantees that we will perfectly realize our goals."

After the speech by General of the Army Lajos Czinege and contributions by others there was a speech by Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Our People Honor and Respect the Army

In the introductory part of his speech Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, emphasized the importance of the commanders' conference

evaluating the work of the most recent 5 years and designating the chief tasks of the next 5 years. He then said that although he rarely had the opportunity to meet personally with the commanders, the leading personnel of the people's army, on so broad a scale he does deal regularly with army matters. "I take the occasion," he said, "to thank you for the invitation and the reception; on my own behalf I thank the comrade minister and all participants in the conference and I pass on to you, and in your person I pass on to the officers, noncommissioned officers and all personnel of the Hungarian People's Army, the greetings and best wishes of the Central Committee."

Following this he said that he sensed with great satisfaction, from the speech of the comrade minister and the others who spoke, that understanding, responsibility and reality with which they dealt with the tasks standing before the people's army. They looked at the military tasks in such a way as to simultaneously examine and take into account their political side and their interdependencies with the basic questions of the life of the people.

He then recalled the formation and reorganization of the people's army. "Just 33 years ago, in the spring of 1948, I was here in this barracks as the representative of the Communist Party," he said. "I participated in an important moment of the birth of the army, the effect of which--I believe--is still timely and valid today. There are certainly those among you who recall this event. The first officers from the children of the working sons of the people took their oath and took up their service here at that time. It was a very beautiful, politically uplifting and, I might say, touching event, for with this act the caste spirit of the officer corps of the old former Hungarian army was broken. Those who saw this--they included old workers in worn clothes and peasant women in kerchiefs--understood what this event meant in the life of the army and the people. And I recall that period--I am thinking of the end of 1956, of the years 1957-1958--when we had to organize our people's army anew virtually from its foundations. That also was a period in the life of the army the work of which proved good and long lasting."

He then spoke of how public opinion both at home and in the friendly socialist countries and the chief commanders and staffs of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact were watching the situation, state and development of the Hungarian People's Army. The opinions were unanimous that the Hungarian People's Army is a well organized, strong armed force standing on a level with our age. He recalled that more than once the supreme commander of the United Armed Forces and representatives of his staff have talked about how the soldiers and subunits have won good ratings and frequently outstanding ratings at various joint exercises and at training exercises of units of the Hungarian People's Army.

He then emphasized that it is well known--and this is known and appreciated by those working in leading offices in the country as well as by broad masses of the people--that the units of our people's army play their part in country building work also. They help the construction industry and agriculture the most but even in a few areas of research work also the aid of the army is felt. All the world sees and knows that in extraordinary situations arising periodically--for example at times of floods--the commanders, officers and soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army stand their ground honorably and fulfill with responsibility their obligations to their homeland and people.

Also extraordinarily important is that work which the army is doing, for itself but actually to the benefit of the entire people, in the education of the youth. This is an inestimably valuable work and service done in the interest of the people. Its benefit extends to society as a whole.

He noted that the Central Committee, the government and our economic organs have provided thus far and will provide in the future the political and economic conditions, the material-technical tools necessary for the work of our army. These are indispensable. "Still, if I want to be entirely precise," he said, "within this vast development achieved on a long road and under difficult circumstances the chief merit--although there are extraordinarily many components and factors involved--belongs to the leaders, commanders, officers and professional soldiers of our army because they do this work constantly, every day." He said that our people honor and respect the army and value highly the results of its work done with responsibility. In the name of the Central Committee he congratulated from his heart the leaders, commanders, officers, noncommissioned officers, political workers, party organizations and all personnel of the Hungarian People's Army for the results achieved thus far.

He then recalled that the development of the Hungarian People's Army is inseparable from that manysided aid which we receive from the Soviet army. He expressed his appreciation for this fraternal cooperation to both the leaders of the Soviet army--including the leaders of the Southern Army Group--and the supreme commander and staff of the Warsaw Pact.

Turning to internal political questions Comrade Kadar emphasized that the Hungarian People's Republic rests on solid foundations and has its own strength on which our people's army can always rely. Our people are politically united, have accepted with agreement the findings of the 12th congress of the party and support with deeds the program outlined by it for the years just ahead. As a result of the united efforts of our worker class, our cooperative peasantry and our intellectuals the economic construction work done in the past year under very difficult conditions has shown significant progress and change in those difficult problems which now stand at the center of economic construction work. A change in a good direction can be felt in the international payments balance and in other economic problems. He mentioned as an example the reorganization of industrial guidance carried out in the recent past, the primary goal of which was to make leadership more dynamic and united while giving the enterprises greater independence within the limits of rationality. The positions of agriculture are not bad.

The public feeling of our people is good. It is a part of this that our armed forces and their members understand their tasks and carry out their obligations well. The people experience this day by day and all this has a favorable influence on the public feeling of the masses. At the same time, from the political and military viewpoint, it is very important for the army that it has a good and strong hinterland.

Our party has a realistic appreciation of what is to be done and what is possible. It is carrying out the tasks falling to it from the leadership of society; it is working in union with the masses. Mutual trust is realized in the link between the party and the masses. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the party expressed his conviction that there is a realistic possibility for the further even development of society.

In regard to international questions Comrade Janos Kadar mentioned first the fact that in recent years the international situation has been characterized by the increased crisis of the capitalist system. The imperialist powers are struggling with political and leadership problems. In a whole series of capitalist countries development has come to a stop, social contradictions and tensions are increasing, inflation is pressing hard and unemployment is increasing.

In addition to the serious internal problems the events of international life are disturbing the capitalists also. It suffices to cite only a few events: in South-east Asia they lost the Vietnam war--the strongest capitalist country in the world fought with a people struggling under difficult circumstances and was not able to realize its political goals even with military means. Events took an unfavorable turn for the imperialist forces in Cambodia. The near east situation is still unresolved. The Camp David accord has failed. The Islamic revolution broke out in Iran, which in any event was a blow to the imperialists because the United States thus lost a significant military base. The entire Persian Gulf has become unstable for them. The people of Latin America are in ferment. The people's revolution was victorious in Nicaragua. National freedom struggles have broken out in Africa. The socialist countries have developed in every part of the world and have grown stronger in every respect. The reactionaries are seeking their own imperialist way out of the crisis situation. They are attempting a deliberate sharpening of the international situation by fanning up the arms race. Despite the reactionary attempts of imperialism the world is making progress, and this is an objective process.

Comrade Kadar said that the forces of socialism, progress and peace are strong in the world and have a just position. And they have the strength to support this just position. He emphasized that we will continue unbroken the foreign policy line we have been following; we will defend peace and strive to preserve the achievements of detente, we will struggle to settle international questions through discussions and will struggle for a possible limit to the arms race.

One principle of our foreign policy aspirations in the present period is equal security at a lower level of armament. The complete agreement and united support shown by our people in this question also is a great help to foreign policy work.

Comrade Kadar mentioned as a significant factor the solidarity of the socialist community. He emphasized that we received great strength and support for our foreign policy struggle from the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which provided a very realistic and persuasive program for the years ahead.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the party recalled the great significance of the proposals made by Comrade Brezhnev in the report of the Central Committee. This is an unbroken continuation of the socialist, Leninist foreign policy. The 26th congress of the CPSU repeatedly confirmed that in the final analysis there is no other acceptable path for mankind than the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. Those who now experiment with other methods at the expense of the peoples and of peace must return to this also.

Following this Comrade Kadar expressed his appreciation of how every speaker at the conference had emphasized that the party and the government could count on the army. This is necessary; the interests of our people require it. At the same time the Central Committee and the government will watch the development of our people's

army with increased attention in the future and will ensure those conditions necessary for the solution of the tasks of defense.

Reacting to what had been said he noted that in the future public opinion must be better informed about defense tasks and about the work of the people's army.

Comrade Kadar emphasized before the command personnel of the army that they should further strengthen the good spirit, patriotism and internationalism of the military communities. They should increase the order and discipline of the army; the general state of these is acceptable but they must be maintained in every branch and in a number of areas they could be still improved.

He called attention to a further strengthening of armed friendship with the Soviet army and with the other socialist armies of the Warsaw Pact. In the present international situation the unity and solidarity of the socialists community is of extraordinarily great significance and this includes the existence and functioning of the Warsaw Pact. This has a sobering effect on the imperialists and keeps them from many adventures.

Comrade Kadar then talked about how our people live in peace and security. They have security in their livelihood too. He who is capable of working and wants to work can work and can earn a living. There is also security in the sense that one can progress further on a path he chooses himself, on the path of building a socialist society. And also in the sense that the Hungarian people have national independence; the sovereignty of the country is intact. In the future also life will develop in Hungary in accordance with the wishes of the Hungarian people. If the leaders of the army work in this spirit and make their subordinates aware of it also then not only will the development of the army be better cadenced but the solidarity of the socialist community and the effectiveness of common activity will strengthen also. If we preserve, strengthen and further develop our unity and common purposes, if we learn to work even better then we will make progress in the development of the army and in the building of a developed socialist society alike, Janos Kadar concluded his speech.

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RENEWAL IN POLISH SCOUT MOVEMENT ADDRESSED

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[Article by Anna Sabbatowna--Broadcast in Poland by Radio Free Europe]

[Text] The Polish scout movement possessed great moral authority in Polish society in the past. It was not surprising; this organization had rendered enormous services in bringing up no less than two generations of Poles in the spirit of Christianity, patriotism, and humanism.

The policy of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] at the beginning was directed toward eradicating from the nation's life everything that was part of the scout movement. Attempts to achieve that directly had failed, and in 1956 the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], headed by the unforgettable Aleksander Kaminski, resumed its activities. Unfortunately, our hopes of that time did not materialize. The authorities simply changed their tactics: preserving roughly the external forms and symbols of the prewar scout movement, they there and then subordinated the union of the party, which was expressed in the so-called declaration of ideas in the ZHP charter. In due course, the scout movement was relegated to the role of party kindergarten, one of the stages of the communist training which was to train young Poles according to the model of the Soviet Pioneers. First, God was eliminated.

The scout movement was utilized for purposes which were diametrically opposed to the scouting idea; the method was distorted, its true educational meaning obliterated. The scout movement was required to participate in national propaganda actions, forced upon it by the central authorities; demands were made of it to account for the so-called degree of organization: speaking in a simple language, the betting was on false effects and mass results, at the expense of authentic educational work. Thus the principal feature of the scout method of acting from the inside was cancelled out. Initiative and imagination in activity were replaced by a bureaucratic, frequently falsified, system of reporting.

In many schools, the directors who had a wrong concept of the essence of the scout movement introduced compulsory registration of children in the scout movement, thus undermining the principle of voluntary membership. Because the scouting bond develops only on the basis of every one's readiness to implement objectives through the scouting method, and on the basis of an individual's conscious attitude toward the scout movement and its activities. Moreover, such artificial recruitment caused a shortage of training personnel. Teachers, already overburdened with work, were assigned to scout troops and packs. The newly appointed instructors most frequently

did not have scouting experience of their own, nor did they have any concept of the goals of the scout movement or of the way to attain them. The lack of scout training courses brought about an ever greater discrepancy between theoretical principles and their practical application. The scout law began to be taken lightly. The daily good deed was forgotten, and so was the need for self-education through self-improvement. The scout troop had no justification for its existence; consequently, the principle of interaction gradually disappeared. These distortions intensified still more after 1973, when the scout movement was merged with the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish youth (FSZMP), being deprived of even the appearance of independence. The creation of the so-called Scout Service for Socialist Poland (HSPS) led to the final negation of the essence of the scout movement. This experiment bears all the marks of being antiscout: it represents the identification of the means with the end. Youth is exploited for heavy physical work (for example, within the scope of actions "Bieszczady 40" or "Azymut Huta Katowice") or mobilized for participation in doctrinative contests of knowledge, while other activities aimed at educating a whole person are totally neglected.

Thus, post-August Poland could not fail to include a renewal of the scout movement. This was facilitated by the fact that in many centers authentic scout work was still being carried on in a self-sacrificing manner by real-life instructors. They had been able to educate Polish youth in the spirit of scouting, even within the narrow limits of the obligatory system, by this precisely giving proof of real service to their native country. The renewal of life in Poland as a result of the Gdansk Accords has created an opportunity also for the scout movement. It is with joy that one should welcome the open letter of instructors from the Krakow scout center which demands changes directed toward restoring to the scout movement the opportunities to implement its educational goals. All the demands published in this document are natural and real. They do not require radical concessions. They represent, with regard to the scout movement, logical adherence to the principles contained in the Gdansk Accords. They require only good will of the permanent authorities of the ZHP and of the state authorities. They concern mainly the restoration of the self-sufficiency and independence of the ZHP, intraorganizational democratization, the restoration of the principle of voluntariness and of religious tolerance, the return of scout methods and programs; among others there are demands concerning the text of the official scout song, and also such matters as information and publications, ranks, merit badges, and uniforms.

Similar demands appeared at reporting-and-election conferences during discussions before the Seventh ZHP Congress which has been set for March of this year. An especially serious ring have the motions made in the Warsaw unit by the Gray Ranks Warsaw-Mokotow [scout] battalion. The MOTYWY trainer's journal, accommodating and deadly boring until quite recently, publishes instructors' demands in its columns, prints polemical letters and articles, and encourages discussion on the topic of the future of the scout movement.

Another characteristic manifestation of the vitality of the scout idea and movement is the establishment of Andrzej Malkowski instructor circles in several Polish cities. These circles recur to the ZHP prewar tradition and to the ideological principles, methods and lifestyle of the founder of the Polish scout movement. The first such circle was established in Warsaw in October. A month later the Joint Council of Andrzej Malkowski Instructor Circles was established, joining the already

functioning circles in Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Gliwice, Gorzow, Krakow, Lublin, Poznan, Wolomin, and Zakopane. It was well that the council extended an invitation to the older leaders of the scout movement, who had kept aloof since the time of the unfulfilled hopes of the year 1956, to join it.

Such pressures from among the ranks forced the highest authorities of the ZHP to grant certain concessions with regard to the restoration of the scouting principles. On 5 December, the Supreme Council and the Congress Commission published a document containing several proposals for reforms along the lines of the demands of the Krakow scout center. In the document it is admitted that the PSZMP has not passed the test; that the HSPS troops were a mistake; that administrative guidelines cannot determine the quantitative development of the organization; that there is a great strength in the ZHP's 70-year achievement; that the scout movement has been weakened by the central programing of its work, by shortcomings in the training of instructors in the scouting method, and by lack of systematic self-education. The supreme authorities are even agreeing to carry out certain changes in the ZHP statute.

We do not know what the further development of the course of the discussion on the future of the scout movement in Poland will be. We ought to expect that the coming congress will act positively on universally made demands. It would be good for the ZHP Congress to be held before the special party congress. This would enable the scouts to avoid courses of action imposed from above, and would enable party activists to familiarize themselves with the opinion of scouts as a group. Let us hope that all changes demanded by the scouts will be put into practice permanently and not prove to be of short duration. The most important matter will be recognition of the factual situation that most of the youth belonging to the scout movement have been brought up in a religious atmosphere and that tolerance of its convictions must be a generally observed principle. Of course, these words are far from restoring to the scout movement its service to God, but it is undoubtedly a step in the right direction. Reform in the scout movement must be warranted by moral renewal. Its primary condition is the pointed remark directed by the founder of the scout movement, Robert Baden-Powell, to the first Polish scout, Andrzej Malkowski: "Should your scout movement start without God, it might as well not exist at all."

9476

CSO: 2600

ANTI-SEMITIC BROCHURE OF 1858 RECALLED BY JEWISH PAPER

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 15 Mar 81 pp 1, 5

[Unsigned article: "An Infamous Brochure is Answered"]

[Text] By C. A. Rosetti's motto, "Slander is an assassin."

It happened in Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, in July 1858 in the reign of Caimacan Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica, who had succeeded to Barbu Stirbei's throne in 1856. It was a period of great unrest and excitement because an uplifting ideal of the Romanian people was close to fulfillment. The Crimean War (1853-1856) had ended and the Treaty of Paris (1856) had overthrown the Czarist protectorate over the Principalities and decreed the organization of elections to ad hoc divans, and once elected these assemblies had come out by an overwhelming majority in favor of the Union of the two sister countries Moldavia and Wallachia and for fulfillment of the Romanians' desires for prosperity. The great politicians of the time, many returned from a forced exile after the 1848 Revolution was crushed by foreign forces, namely Mihail Kogalniceanu, C. A. Rosetti, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Vasile Alecsandri, Costache Negri, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Cezar Bolliac, Vasile Boerescu and so many others were in the lead of this movement. Costache Negri's words spoken in Paris in December 1848 were nearing fulfillment: "Long live Moldavia! Long live Wallachia! But God grant us one fine day to cry, 'Long live united Romania!' ... We are millions of scattered Romanians. What do we lack to become a strong people? Unification!"

Alongside the entire Romanian people the Jewish population took part with love and enthusiasm in the struggle to promote this high and noble ideal. The Jews felt doubly mobilized in this great battle. It combined love of country, enlightened patriotism and the noble humanitarian ideas we have always served, body and soul, from the prophets to our times.

But here a discordant note arises in this general uplifting atmosphere, in this symphony of national unity.

An odious pamphlet began to circulate in Bucharest under the name of "Sling," containing countless slanders against the Jews, who were presented as robbers and a scourge of the peoples. It repeated the false accusation of ritual murder and contained some doggerel saying that "Happy is the emperor who banishes them."

These charges and threats, contrary to the deep-seated and essential principles of the Romanian soul and its basic kindness and contrary to the unionist leaders' conception and the ideals for which the entire Romanian people were fighting and were ready to lay down their lives at the time, soon received the answer they deserved, as the documents make abundantly clear to us.

First there is the royal decree published by BULETINUL OFICIAL No 59, 28 July 1858, signed by "Prince Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica, Caimacan of Wallachia" and addressed "To the Ministry of Interior," to the effect that circulation of the said pamphlet "not only might disturb those whom these bad brochures, quite apart from the principle of loving kindness taught by the Christian religion, particularly concern but they also displease the general public." Furthermore the chief of the Capital Police was ordered "to collect these brochures from the bookstores," and the culprit was to be "removed" from the Directorate of Printing.

But C. A. Rosetti's reaction is even stronger. In an article published in ROMANUL No 59, 28 July/9 August 1858, he exposed the poison of the brochure, saying at the start that "The slander is an assassin" seeking to revive "the massacres from the centuries of barbarity and blindness by arming us for injustice and infernal calumnies against the unfortunate Israelites who settled our realm." And the voice of the champion of freedom and progress is even stronger when he writes, "Now we ask, is this a writing for the 19th century, for the year 1858? Is this a writing of our religion fraught with kindness, brotherhood and forgiveness? And then who fails to see to what a pass this writing would bring us if our people believed a single line of it?" And the great statesman warns against "the tree bearing bad fruit," saying "But because one of its fruits that has fallen in the midst of our society is very harmful, we feel obligated to stop those who can taste of it out of ignorance and to guard against that danger." And at the end of the article C. A. Rosetti expresses his confidence that "Thanks to the government these outrages will be eradicated at once, and thanks to heaven the Romanian people are quite Christian and enlightened. And instead of heeding the ruinous counsels of 'Sling,' the Romanian people and the good Israelites will cast out 'Sling,' all crying with one voice and with brotherhood, 'Forgive them, Lord, for they know not what they say!' In so saying C. A. Rosetti was in the good Pasoptist tradition, for the noble revolutionary 1848 Proclamation demanded, in Paragraph 21, "Emancipation of the Israelites and political rights for any compatriots of another faith."

On the same day C. A. Rosetti's article was published a no less firm article appeared that was written by the jurist, economist and politician Vasile Boerescu, who nominated Alexandru Ioan Cuza as prince of Wallachia on 24 January 1859 in the Elective Assembly. The article was published in the daily NATIONALUL No 66, 28 July 1858. In reference to the same infamous brochure V. Boerescu wrote, "The persecutions of the past centuries, intolerance and inquisitions could produce only darkness, weakness and anarchy." And in noting that several copies from "Prastia" were still "in public circulation," he expressed his confidence as a true patriot that "the reaction to this work of barbarous centuries will be one of general reproach and contempt. We repeat, the Romanians are a nation that has always loved freedom and tolerance. If Christianity is truth and if morality is virtue, persecution cannot aid them, for it is falsehood that gives rise to vice. We want foreigners and civilized Europe to be convinced of the Romanian's nature and not hold the nation responsible for some deeds of some fanatical and eccentric individuals." And this pamphlet containing "the most vicious attacks and the most serious offenses and threats against the Israelites" denotes nothing but the "barbarity of primitive times," while V. Boerescu

notes that in the most beautiful pages of the Romanians' history neither prejudice, nor hatred, nor slander nor bloody persecutions stained the sanctuary of the great national ideals, and "Christ's doctrine is honor, brotherhood and tolerance. Christ did not disseminate the religion that he founded with the sword of myths nor with 'Sling,' but by conviction, always speaking to the heart and conscience." And Vasile Boerescu concluded, "It is only to be desired that such deeds, although isolated, shall not be repeated ... The author of 'Sling' will be scorned just as he has been by the public, by the chief of state and, we are certain, by the head of our church himself."

Of course the authors of the pamphlet, perfidious liars and slanderers, reacted. How? Did C. A. Rosetti dare to defend the Jews from their vile attacks? The only explanation was no more nor less than the one that C. A. Rosetti was "bought" by the Jews.

C. A. Rosetti did not fail to respond. We reprint his reply just as it appeared in ROMANUL No 61, 4/16 August 1858, p 243, entitled "A Slander."

"It has been rumored here and there, first in whispers, then in ambiguous words, and finally stated baldly that the Israelites have paid in cash for the few and feeble words I published in No 59 against the notorious pamphlet printed in the press above [din deal] under the fitting title of 'Sling.'

"I could say that those who uttered those words are unaccustomed to fulfilling their obligations without pay, as I could say that those who published 'Sling' did so for a speculative purpose. But it is not my nature to suspect even slanderers. But what I can say is that those who resort to such calumnies prove first their immorality and second that they esteem and respect the one they slander, because otherwise they would reproach and annihilate him with his misdeeds and finally with the truth instead of slander. What I can add further is that I have been granted the good fortune not to fear the light, to challenge anyone who thinks he has the slightest deviation from the path of honor to impute to me, and to say so here in the columns of this paper and before the whole world. I am certain that my defamers of every description will not dare grant me willingly what I willingly grant them, and therefore until they have some misdeed to impute to me before the whole world I am justified in calling them sons of darkness, moles with sharpened claws who can feed only upon the insects from beneath the earth, vampires who stab the good with their tongues and suck the blood of the innocent, bats of mankind truly harmful in darkness whom the light forces to hide in their visions, where the sun of righteousness will reach and burn them and exterminate them forever from the beautiful land of Romania (Wallachia -- our note).

"I have not written these lines to defend my honor, because I formed the habit long ago of defending it by my deeds and of placing it in a light where the bats cannot reach, but to prove once again by this challenge that slander is the daughter of darkness and that only freedom of the press will deliver us from that plague.

"As for pay, it is very true that the Israelites have paid me. They have paid me with a brotherly handclasp when I was in the land of exile. They have paid me by often fighting abroad to propagate our cause. And they finally paid me even with their blood, for it is only 6 years since one of them gave his life for my country."

Thus an infamous brochure received its due answer. It came from the pens of enlightened statesmen, noble fighters for justice and freedom, and brilliant exponents of the true Romanian patriotism.

ROMANIA

OFFICIAL SUMMER TIME TO BEGIN ON 5 APRIL

AU012030 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1853 GMT 1 Apr 81

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Apr (AGERPRES)--Under State Council decree, official summer time begins in Romania on 5 April, when the 0000 hrs becomes 0100 hrs. The summer time keeps on force till 27 September.

The programme of the economic and commercial units and socio-cultural institutions keeps unchanged, and the railway timetable will be adjusted in the night of 4-5 April to the new summer time, as follows: The trains scheduled to leave the distribution stations between 0001 and 0100 hrs will leave 1 hour later than provided for in their timetable.

As to the passenger and freight trains of the international and frontier traffic, taking into consideration that the Hungarian People's Republic starts the official summer time on 29 April and the USSR on 1 April, at the frontier passage CFR-MAV (Hungary) in the interval between 29 March and 4 April 1981, and CFR-SJD (USSR) in the interval between 1 and 4 April 1981, the trains entering Romania will arrive in the Romanian frontier stations by the time of the neighbour state, while the trains exiting from Romania will leave by the official Romanian time. A series of trains running between Romania and USSR on which the travel agencies and railway stations are advised, will keep following the winter timetables in force since 20 September 1980, between the frontier stations of Vicsani and Vadul Siret, and Nicolina-Ungheni USSR, and vice versa, until 30 May 1981. Taking into consideration that People's Republic of Bulgaria starts the official summer time concomitantly with Romania and Yugoslavia does not apply an official summer time, the trains in the international and frontier traffic between Romania and her two neighbours will follow the timeteables in force.

Taron announces that over 5 April-26 September 1981, inclusively, the regular foreign trips will run according to graphs included in a new summer timetable, and between 1-4 April and 27 September-31 October 1981, the planes will take off and land 1 hour earlier than scheduled in the timetable.

In 1980, the application of the official summer time resulted in Romania in a savings of 210 million kwh, which means the preservation of 75,000 tons of fuel oil. In peak hours, the power absorbed from the national grid dropped by some 450 mw. A savings of some 54 million kwh was made in household illumination.

CSO: 2020/40

BRIEFS

AIDE-MEMOIRE SIGNED WITH UNESCO--Bucharest, 10 Apr (AGERPRES)--Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, and Amadou Mahtar M'bow, UNESCO director-general, signed on 10 April an aide-memoire on cooperation projects between Romania and UNESCO. The document stipulates modalities of Romania's participation in UNESCO programmes in education, science, culture and information. They mainly refer to technical and scientific collaboration in information science, power engineering, chemistry, hydrology, oceanography, geology, agricultural sciences, seismology. In the field of culture, modalities are stipulated regarding the cooperation in restoring Dacian and Roman citadels. [Text] [AU101818 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 10 Apr 81]

CSO: 2020/40

PARTY ACTION TOWARD BELGRADE PROFESSORS JUSTIFIED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 81 p 11

[Article by Mirko Arsic: "Criticism in a Labyrinth"]

[Text] The League of Communists would not be a party of the "new type," nor could it lay claim to that role, if it did not rely on the more or less instructive experiences it has gained in the ideological and political struggle, including that against the so-called leftwing opposition. The need for a thorough analysis and conceptualization of the essential dimensions of this type of ideological disagreement within the vanguard also has its special reason. The reference is to individuals who belonged to our communist movement and who in one period came into conflict with the constructive program on which the League of Communists insisted.

At a time when action must above all be cool-headed and must adhere to principle, intolerance of any kind can inflict noticeable harm to the reputation of the League of Communists. One of the components of the fight being waged by Yugoslav communists to achieve the ideals proclaimed in the LCY Program is unquestionably their conflict with individuals and groups who on various occasions have accused their vanguard of relinquishing its revolutionary character, of becoming bureaucratic, and of not differing much from other parties in power with respect to the way it goes about things. The charges we are referring to are not unpopular in certain intellectual circles. An entire school of unorthodox Marxism has made "epochal" efforts to prove the soundness of the argument that the vanguard of the working class is revolutionary only up to the act of taking political power, and that thereafter even for it there ensues a time of conformism and defense of the status quo.

Self-Styled Leaders

This article was occasioned by certain interpretations--neither secret nor very outspoken--of the firing of a group of former teachers at the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University. On this occasion we are not interested in what is referred to as the gossip of the marketplace, still less its "ideology," whose essential characteristic is that it is the product of unsuccessful--not to mention unhappy--self-styled leaders who by definition do not have their own opinion about anything, especially about philosophers and the "status" of our philosophy today and who follow such sensations, especially political ones, with particular enjoyment.

Our subject here is those people who suppose that the ultimate of an undogmatic approach and revolutionary morality is to oppose each and every thing. Extravagance of this kind does not, of course, have much to do with respect and a revolutionary attitude in this time and place. Since they are courteous, they are far from any thought of abusing you with their "eloquence." If you say anything which contradicts the principles of their local planetarium, they will answer you scornfully that they are not political men, but men of ideas: we know what the party thinks about that, and there is no need to lose time talking about things that are well known.

This kind of reasoning would not deserve any great attention if--behind the scenes--it were not resorted to even by certain Marxist intellectuals who are members of the League of Communists. On one occasion they are "more necessary to the party than the party to them"; on another occasion, using any means that comes to hand, they will strive to present their private interest as the "historic interest" of society and the League of Communists. Substituting arguments, an art at which they are past masters, they greatly impede the process of ideological and political differentiation. (Within the League of Communists, incidentally, there has been increasingly frequent and vocal talk about the need for this process.)

"Over the Fence"

The dispute that has gone on for several years between the so-called group of philosophers and the League of Communists has had its mild and also acute forms. By contrast with those who pretended indifference (there are always hypocrites), certain intellectuals have committed themselves--out of various opportunistic motives--to entangling first the dispute and then the conflict as well as much as they can. Though it did not originate in their "workshops," they have tried to make sure that it did not lose any of the "glitter" of the argument that on this occasion once again--similar to the fates of Blokh, Kosik and Kolakovskiy--nothing is involved but a conflict between the critically oriented intelligentsia and socialism.

The Marxist intellectuals are entitled to their doubts, but not to that kind of reserve which borders on looking "over the fence" and petty bourgeois anticipation.

The speculations in this area are more or less well known. The question that arises in this connection is this: Did the League of Communists perhaps err because this conflict has persisted with greater or lesser intensity for a decade and a half?

The course of the conflict eloquently indicates an effort not to bring the problem to a premature end, to break it "over one's knee." In every thorough and serious analysis this point will have superior political, moral and intellectual weight. The League of Communists has not given in to everyday pressures, and that also indicates its consistency and its democratic self-confidence.

Even when the members of this group were "made available for other assignments," the League of Communists did not cease to show concern about their opportunities to continue to publish their writings. They were fired because their philosophical and sociological work had come down to a political struggle with oppositionist aims.

But that act does not signify an encouragement of bureaucratic tendencies and efforts in our society. Likewise their departure from the School of Philosophy does not imply that this society was returning to the ideological and theoretical positions which had been demystified so keenly and in such great detail and rejected in the fifties.

At "Point Zero"

We also say this because the spokesmen and popularizers of that Marxism which is based on the so-called reflex theory--in recent years--have felt that their time had come, and so they hastened at all costs to start firing on any Marxism which is not "orthodox," i.e., dogmatic, in this way contesting everything valuable that has been achieved in our Marxist thought. We will not exaggerate if we say that the dogmatically oriented philosophers have implicitly or explicitly attacked the program and policy of the League of Communists under the cloak of criticizing the books and ideas of the group of former teachers. The dogmatists have interpreted the action of the League of Communists to distance itself from that school of philosophy as they return to the positions which they themselves advocated. Certain books and articles have even been published which by causing great confusion take an original and rich course of Marxist thought back to the beginning, to "point zero." It is a good thing that the League of Communists did not take up those books as arguments in a struggle against the philosophical orientation whose protagonists were the former teachers in the School of Philosophy.

Someone did well to notice that in combating the New Left ideas and claims we "neglected" a bit the "critical front and critical position toward our ourselves.... Instead of criticizing our real relations and practice, in recent years there has been quite a bit of apologetics, direct and indirect."

Demystification of the alternative offered by the former teachers does not imply an inclination toward dogmatism in philosophy and theory and toward bureaucracy in practice. Having committed itself to the self-management concept of development as the epochal alternative, this society has at several turning points demonstrated that every dogmatism stands in direct opposition to its basic principles and goals.

7045

CSO: 2800

ALBANIAN PAPER IN MACEDONIA NOTES ABUSES, PARTY WEAKNESSES

Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 20 Mar 81 p 5

[Excerpts] In the last few months there have been quite a few reports that the LC has been faced with negative phenomena in opstinas, work organizations and institutions. Various abuses of self-management, privatization in decision-making and cadre policies, and violations of the norms of socialist self-management have been found. In all these actions there was also self-criticism by members of basic [LC] organizations toward various weaknesses, bureaucratic usurpations, and too liberal attitudes toward negative manifestations which have been the cause for worker dissatisfaction.

All these purgings which are being made here and there are not crises but they arise from crises in these areas. This is attested to by the increase of democratic forces and democratic relations, by the strengthened position of members of basic organizations who are not making peace with opportunism or the inconsistencies in some leaderships.

First, all those errors and negative manifestations have been tolerated and have piled up year after year. Thus, one mistake has followed another. Although in some areas there have been signs and initiatives to stop this, some organizations and leaderships have been deaf and in some cases attempts to clean up operations have been sharply rejected.

This lack of democratic life, this passivity, and opportunism has made possible the concentration of power in a narrow group, frequently in union with the "strong man" concept, in privatizing the decision-making process and violating ethical norms. There is silence as long as a situation is not considered serious.

Second, in all these cases it was shown that many of these errors and negative manifestations have happened because of the poor work of the delegate assemblies, of self-management organs, and of some services which have not done work for which they were paid or have not done it properly. In all these places communists have been working, as well as basic LC organizations. But they nevertheless approved unself-management decisions; social means were acquired for private use of functions were abused, while communists often stood to one side. They looked on and were silent when work did not proceed as it should.

The LC must not only appear in the role of a firefighter or a border guard who looks on while mistakes are tolerated. It must be committed to democratization of relations in decision-making, in self-management organs, and in delegates assemblies.

CSO: 2100

CATHOLIC PAPER COMMENTS ON GRMIC INTERVIEW IN 'START'

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Antun Badurina-Pavicic: "A Sound and Reasonable Dialog"]

[Text] As I read the conversation between Dr Vekoslav Grmic and the newswoman Jelena Lovric which was published in the pages of START on 24 December 1980, I noted down some of my observations and critical comments. It would be unfair to deny that the most eminent subject of the interview evokes in the reader [the original reads "does not associate to the reader"] sound and reasonable ideas on many important issues. However, quite a few of his statements about the church's position in our sociopolitical system call out for a response. That is, they seem too fragmentary coming from such a thinker, and in the context of the interview they even smack of obsequiousness. I will attempt to indicate at least some of them.

1. The Church and Socialism

"I am by conviction, political conviction, a socialist.... I derive my commitment to socialism and to socialist values, and thus to Yugoslavia's socialist system as well, from my religious conviction."

If I understand the bishop rightly in this and his further utterances, the resolution of the tension concerning the (in)equality of religious people in our society would consist of this: religious people ought to devote themselves to building socialism.... This is complementary to the well-known thesis that our citizenry is not divided by faith, but by class commitment and socialist involvement.

Yet who today is not a socialist? A liberation or revolutionary movement which does not include in its program democracy and socialism cannot count on the sympathies of world opinion. Even the capitalist countries have socialist parties and governments. What specifically is Dr Grmic's discovery? Is not socialism, as a demand for social justice and equality, an old biblical idea? And which socialist theory and revolution is it, from early Christianity to today, that has occurred without religious people? Who is it who needs to regard the masses of religious people (workers) as an unreliable element which at the same time is to be involved in building socialism? Isn't this a twisting of the facts? This amounts to pounding an antisocialist complex into the heads of religious people, while the real enemies of socialism: big people in the government who steal money and are the

creators of social differences, supposedly remain the lesser of the two evils. Doesn't this lecture about socialism remind one of the hue and cry "Thief, Thief"? Who is supposed to help Dr Grmic "pursue the thieves," and why?

I hope a religious person is free to ask what kind of socialist he should be and what kind of socialism he should work for? And in connection with the complementary thesis of the existence of a class division of the citizenry, but no religious division, I ask: Can it be that someone invented religious people and unreligious people and the differences between them? Honestly, it is not a good thing for our society for that real difference to be raised to the level of the primary problem in public life, but on the other hand it is a twisting of the facts to attribute the emphasis on that difference exclusively or largely to the church. That difference has been persistently emphasized by sectarians who on the one hand cannot imagine religious individuals holding any public office (head of a federal agency, for instance), but at the same time they are holding back the debate on whether religious people can be members of the party. There is room enough in that forked stick only for a feeling of second-class citizenship. The sectarians, then, are responsible for these feelings on the part of religious people and they bear part of the responsibility for the church's reactions to this problem.

2. The Limited Pope

"But just as the pope is familiar only with the Polish church, so he also is familiar only with Polish socialism: he has no other experience."

By contrast with him the pope's John XXIII and Paul VI, citizens of capitalist countries, "had a constructive attitude toward socialism." The first thing one can conclude from this is that the experience of real socialism is actually an essential cognitive defect and error on the part of those who have experienced it. It is a dangerous thing to say, but there was a time when experience, be it even limited, was not so deprecated. However, we are also familiar with the common case of thinkers of a certain kind for whom experience is just a bother, since it confuses their harmonious and elevated Conceptions. Cardinal Koenig described the present pope somewhat differently from Dr Grmic (AKSA [Aktuelna Kriscanska Sadasnjost], No 1, 1981, p 2A): "John Paul II is quite familiar with relations in the East on the basis of his own observation and knows that in the difficult situation of Christians under communist rule neither appeasement nor provocation are any help." One can only hope that the pope will continue to progress and in addition to Polish and eastern socialism will manage to understand a little also of other types of socialism, the differences among which are so subtle, it seems, that only the brains of the chosen can penetrate them.

3. The Events in Poland and the Domestic Church

"The events in Poland are having some effect on our own (those) events. Though church people should know that Poland has always been something altogether special."

Where lies the difference? The Polish church fought against Nazism, while we, Dr Grmic says, had the White Guards and the Ustashi. According to him, the

negative attitude toward the church and socialist society in our country was determined by the "behavior of the church leadership before World War II ... during the war and the distrust, even repulsion which the church leadership expressed after the war toward the new Yugoslavia...." A similar response was given by Dr Vladimir Bakarić (25 December 1980) over television. This is quite understandable for him as a politician. What is more, he is broader than the theologian Grmić, since he also mentions the "conflict with Cardinal Wyszyński" and that conflict is something that would be quite interesting to our discussion.

That is Dr Grmić's own problem if he thinks that the church did not have even the least reason for distrust toward the new Yugoslavia. However, he raises to the level of a theological principle the old biblical saying: The fathers ate sour grapes, and the sons' teeth are set on edge, though the Bible long ago and sensibly refuted that "theology." Why is it that he hangs that historical anchor on the church? Why does he attempt to attribute to it not only the antisocialist complex, but also a complex of historical guilt? Can it be that he, a bishop, is afraid that the church will set sail? It is true that the churches in Poland and Yugoslavia are different, just as our societies are different, for a whole number of reasons. Imitation is therefore altogether excluded! Yet whereas a fear of the "Polish example" is understandable on the part of a politician, both the fear and the line of argument are incomprehensible on the part of a theologian.

What I wonder is this: Why have possible mistakes by the prewar and postwar church or of individuals in the church made it incumbent upon our postwar church (especially the church born after the war) to be circumspect and to feel guilt (toward whom)? It is always possible to begin to live differently and more fully when insights have matured and there is a desire to change for the better. The church, with a mature awareness of itself and of its role, can also alter itself in society. And learn from the Polish church, if there is something to learn and if we are at all capable of absorbing such a lesson.

I do not see why I as a religious person should feel guilty because of the petty political reproaches addressed to this church today because of Torquemada, the Inquisition, and the War. It is well known that Torquemada's heirs have left the church long since and have horribly surpassed their progenitor in both quantity and quality and are still doing so. Further, judgments about the role of the church in World War II are so sweeping, personal and politically colored that it is difficult, especially for someone who was not alive at that time, to penetrate to the full truth. Why should I accept guilt because of that inability of mine, and whom would it serve? Perhaps those who get excited whenever the church rejects blanket pronouncements of wartime guilt which they, out of some need of their own, continuously and unstaringly, bestow on the church, which has no possibility of defending itself adequately?

All the revolutions of this century (rightwing and leftwing) have torn down the church and are still doing so. It is a scapegoat for everyone. I do not know how to explain this. Probably one part of it is rebellion against the church's authority, which has stood for centuries, in an intolerable way in certain periods. The only thing I am sure of is that this tearing down of the church cannot be explained by its retrograde and supposedly reactionary nature, since the makers of the revolution have been and are religious people themselves, and on the other side the

religious people and many completely innocent people also suffered. We are familiar with the expression: the mystery of Evil! Whatever the case, the church has no need of political blame and labels that belong to someone else. It has its own road to travel, one that it did not start out on yesterday.

Dr Grmic might say that one should examine one's own conscience, not someone else's. He is right, yet he himself does not do so, though at one point he notes that "the problems lie both in the church and in the world." All one recognizes is the critical attitude toward the church, and subservience to current politics. Still stranger is that the church, according to Grmic, is the one called upon to acknowledge errors, to adapt, to alter its behavior. What reasonable man can believe such a thing? Not even all our newsmen write in that way, since it is clearer to them that we all need to change and that the party's attitude toward the church is nevertheless changing in practice.

4. Is Our Church Free

"Relations have become almost normal since establishment of diplomatic relations between the SFRY and the Vatican.... They speak about the unfreedom of the church in our country because they cannot imagine the church without power and without a decisive influence on all public life. They cannot accept the secularized programming on television, nor are they content with the secularized and socialistically oriented educational system...."

Two things seem clear: It is good for the church that it has been defeated as a secular power and there is no reason to regret this. Second: the constructive development of relations between the church and society has been obvious, in spite of fluctuations, from the war up to the present time. What is not clear is this: Why has the defeat of the church as a secular power also been extended to the other aspects of ecclesiastical matters, even to the basic civil rights of religious people? Who benefits from that self-denial? Nor is the concept of freedom clear here. For one who has minimalistic desires for freedom, it is enough not to be in chains. But what about those religious people who--what a thing to say!--have broader ideas and needs concerning freedom? What about those who live lives of quiet desperation and cannot feel that they are free and that no one wishes to humiliate and deceive them? When such people speak about un... [line of type missing in original] ...intentioned enemies? Dangerous daydreamers in a situation that is altogether idyllic? Once again Dr Grmic plays down experience! As if he is convinced that there is quite enough freedom for religious people (why, then, did the pope and President Mijatovic, according to the Italian press, talk about religious freedom?) and as though he is suggesting to us: just be good and obedient socialists, and you will earn still more freedom. Is that human decency?

Another bishop, Dr Frane Franic, thinks that the Protocol was an important step toward improving relations between the state and church, but that the situation is becoming ripe for a new protocol, which would cover the problems that exist in the field (no one is inventing them) and will really advance the rights of religious people in society. He presents (CRKVA U SVIJETU, No 1, 1979, p 80) seven points in which the civil rights of religious people are deficient and infringed on, from the

fact that the religious man cannot hold any important public office in society, since he is not morally and politically fit (as Dr Sagi said in his interview for VJESNIK) to allowing Christmas to be celebrated as a holiday.

At the New Year's reception in the Dvori Archbishop Kuharic also alluded to the new and necessary dimensions of freedom when in quoting President Mijatovic's statement to the pope, he added: "Yet we bishops would like to read this as a new approach to resolving the altogether concrete problems which I will not enumerate here, but which we want to be constructively resolved so that people have peace and so that all members of society live together in equality."

Dr Grmic idealizes the idea of secularization which the church would even have to implement, but nowhere does he issue a caution about the ambiguity and contradictoriness of that idea. It is true that the church should leave behind the clannish mentality Simone Weil talks about; it also needs a kind of Bonhoeffer secularization, but it is not clear what the bishop is speaking about. I honestly sensed in his words only a paraphrase of the well-known assertion that religion is a private matter and nothing more. It is indeed a private matter of the individual, but in our practice the content of the word "private" has overtones of illegality, of the sacristsy, even of schizophrenia. The religious person must take pains that no one in public knows that he is a religious person, as though this were a kind of shame to be kept within four walls. God preserve us from having it noticed that someone is a religious person in the Parliament, in the army, in the educational system, or in more harmless places, since this is associated with eccentricity, with unsuitability, nor are even stronger expressions spared. "Private" does not mean split in half, but whole, free and without fear.

To be sure, religious people themselves are to blame for many unfreedoms, since they are afraid of freedom. In the end it is not a gift of the government, but it has to be taken as one's natural right (as indeed the constitution makes possible).

5. How To Build the Future

"We will easily reach agreement if we acknowledge our social system once and for all and if we accept the council's idea of the autonomy of secular affairs...."

Who is to reach agreement about what? Supposedly some clerical elite with the government, which fits nicely into Grmic's vision of a secularized church. What kind of acknowledgment is to be made "once and for all," and what form is it to take? For example, what am I supposed to acknowledge as a religious person? I was born and educated in this social system, I live in it, and I respect its laws. I am convinced that I do not threaten it, nor do I have any such ambitions. I understand how valuable peace is, and I am an antimilitarist. This is my homeland, and I have no other. What else is required? To write some specific declaration and oath to that effect?

I respond with a question: Am I allowed to pose "embarrassing" questions, to think freely and differently, and where is the line where I will be declared an "enemy of socialism" or something still worse?

Here is a question: Why is it that religious people are allowed only to discharge their civic duties and to be loyal, but they are not allowed to demand their own rights without it being said on the spot that the church is grasping for power and is in collusion with the enemy and even is almost more powerful and responsible than the state? Today there are also people who think more sensibly, but this manipulative mentality is still with us.

One cannot trust Grmic as a thinker in these matters, since he is for "a freedom whose limits are set only by brotherhood." I prefer that of S. Weil, who in an essay entitled "The Needs of the Soul" ("Sloboda i tlačenje" [Oppression and Liberty], Naprijed, Zagreb, 1979) has far more sagacious, fair and promising ideas. Either every individual is free, or there is no freedom at all.... "No group can justifiably claim the right to freedom of expression, since it is not necessary in the least to any group" (p 193). Dr Grmic's reflections remind us of a definition not so far back of the criteria for moral and political fitness and tend toward neo-unitarianism rather than to a pluralism of opinions. To talk about the "autonomy of secular powers" in such a context is pure farce. Is the church supposed to support an autonomy in which everything religious is systematically displaced, indeed even to the point of comedy (subtitles in films, translations of books, etc.).

The church should accept our reality (hasn't it already?), but not in order to come to a halt in it "once and for all," nor still less in accordance with the formula of those who are always trying to nail it to the pillar of shame. Instead of being incorporated into the existing status quo, for which socialism never ceases to reproach it in view of the past, it ought to be developing a prophetic and poetic dimension of its identity. This means: the religious person ought to busily collaborate in everything that constitutes the general good, but not as labor hired by the bureaucratic structures, but as a self-manager. He is free to dream about something better and to point out the deceptions and manipulations.... To paraphrase Dr Grmic: let the dimensions of freedom be widened, the same for everyone, and "then we will easily reach agreement."

6. Self-Management Theology

"When I wrote, for example, that we ought to be thinking about a socialist or, as you say, self-management theology of our own, some people became very disturbed. They asked: Now what is this all about?"

Just like the Israelites in the desert! I would like to read such a theology, when "our main problem is how we as Christians, as people who are religious, gain respect in an environment in which people live who do not believe in God" (Dr Grmic). If it is possible to gain such respect, since it does not depend exclusively on our effort, then I do not believe that the best way is for theology to play the coquet with current politics. "In its mission and by its nature the church is not bound either to any particular form of human culture, nor to any political, economic or social system" ("Joy and Hope," No 42). This point of view is welcomed by Marxists: "The church has adopted a very important proclamation in the political field: neutrality toward all social systems, whereby it has abandoned in principle its procapitalist orientation" (Professor Boris Vusković in VJESNIK, 11 January 1981). Does Dr Grmic think that Marxists are now expecting from the church a

procommunist orientation? If I may be so presumptuous as to speak on behalf of Marxists, I think that they do not need a theology that would stand as the other side of the medal from their world view or a metaphysical apology of their political practice.

It is certain that there is no good theology without correspondence with reality and its inventory of ideas. The church has always possessed the elements for a "socialist ideology," beginning with the Bible (Amos, for example) and the Gospels, down through St. John Chrysostom and monks down to Ketteler and the present-day popes and missionaries (Follereau, Mother Theresa). That kind of theology ought to provide us a guide. But presumably Dr Grmic is not talking about that kind. Why, then, be so naive as to be surprised when people ask: Now what is this all about? There is good reason to fear that a theology which does not have all the conditions to be free, adds to unfreedom in the most sensitive area: the area of the spirit.

I allow that I have not properly understood Dr Grmic. But I am certain that there are so many similar readers of his interview that he should bear this in mind when he makes similar attempts.

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BRIEFS

JASENOVAC DISTORTIONS--Recently in some publications and in the daily press facts have come out, mistakenly or deliberately, to the effect that only a few scores of thousands of people passed through the Ustase camp at Jasenovac, the largest place of torture and mausoleum in our country. Such statements are nothing more than distortions of the truth regarding the number of those who died in this place of execution without precedent in Yugoslavia. Such an assessment was given in a report by the Council on the Jasenovac Memorial Area which met on Friday. Issuing information in which individuals consciously, tendentiously, and arrogantly evaluate the number of those who suffered and were sacrificed, whom Yugoslav peoples and nationalities gave in the course of our glorious liberation struggle, is actually an action directed against the truth about our revolution in which we lost 1.7 million people. Such information diminishes the fascist crimes, defends the criminals, and falsifies history. They incorrectly count our dead, evaluate the mass graves of the victims of fascism which are part of the foundation of our freedom. According to members of the Council, such information is part of an effort by those dark forces which also in that time [and today] dream of a society of force, darkness, and death and who want to return to the time of fratricide, destruction, repression, and fascism. [Excerpt] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 81 p 5]

BISHOP'S ACTION DEFENDED--The 5 April 1981 issue of the Zagreb Catholic paper GLAS KONCILA (pp 2, 4) publishes a protest by Dr Frane Franic, archbishop of Split, against the negative portrayal of Kvirin Klement Bonifacic, former bishop (now deceased) of Split and Makarska (1923 to 1954), in a current television series on the fascist occupation of this area during World War II. Denying that Bishop Bonifacic was pro-fascist, Franic says he intervened on behalf of imprisoned Communists as well as others, adding that "he was anti-Communist but he was a good man, a moral priest, and valued bishop who deserves our respect and lasting thanks..., regardless of what religion or ideology we adhere to." [Editorial Report]

PARTY OUSTERS IN KOSOVSKA MITROVICA FACTORY--After a broad and constructive discussion at a meeting of the three basic LC organizations in the electric battery factory in Kosovska Mitrovica, eight LC members were expelled because of their participation in demonstrations which took place in Kosovska Mitrovica on 3 April this year. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Apr 81 p 5]

DEMONSTRATIONS ON 3 APRIL--A meeting was held on 18 April in Zvecan of the Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina LC Conference which dealt with reports of demonstrations on 3 April 1981 in Kosovska Mitrovica and measures taken regarding the reporting of these demonstrations. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Apr 81 p 1]

SENTENCED FOR 1980 FIGHT--The Pec district court handed down sentences against participants in the fighting which occurred on 4 August 1980 in front of the courthouse building in which a large number of people took part, one of whom was killed. The court sentenced 11 persons, including Iso Cokovici (26), worker from the village of Dobrusha in Istok Opstina who was sentenced to 10 years in the death of Arif Koliqi (67), farmer from Belo Polje who was struck in the head by a brick; also sentenced to 10 years for taking part in the fighting was Raif Kadribashiq (42), farmer from Vitimirica; his son Rifati (28) was sentenced to 3 years. Nazif Kadribashiqi (54), mason from Vitimirica, Ismet Cokoviqi (21), worker from Dobroshta, and Husa Hoti (21), driver from Pec, were each sentenced to 6 months; while Nashuf Koliqi (50) was sentenced to 1 year, and the students Ibrahim Koliqi (21) and Ismet Koliqi, were each sentenced to 6 months. Rehabilitation action will be taken against two minors. The court judged that the fight arose because of bad relations between the Kadribashiq and Koliq families.

[Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Apr 81 p 6]

KOSOVO LC MEMBERSHIP--The LC of Kosovo now has 89,107 members organized in 3,095 basic LC organizations. This is an increase in the past year of 7,224, of whom 5,023 are under 27 years of age. [Blue-collar] workers are still not adequately represented, and amount to 21,390 in the LC membership. There has been a positive movement in the increased number of women in the LC. Last year 1,419 women were accepted in the party bringing the total to 11,741. The number of private farmers in the LC fluctuates markedly from one opstina to another. Of the 32,890 LC members working in the 1,558 basic LC organizations in villages, only 12,693 are farmers. [Excerpts] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 28 Mar 81 no page given]

KOSOVO TRADE UNION MEETINGS--In yesterday's meeting of the governing council of the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo there was a comprehensive discussion of the actions and duties of the trade union federation in connection with the political and security situation in our province. Salih Salihu, council member, said that the hostile demonstrations in Kosovska Mitrovica did not encompass many enterprises, although a small group of workers did try to demonstrate. Ismet Rexhepi, council member from Vucitrn, said that according to present estimates, 20 workers had participated in the hostile demonstrations there, which were "sharply condemned by all workers who did not leave their jobs at any time, in contrast to the fact that three of our factories were not in full operation." Remzi Bunjaku from Kacanik said that in that opstina there were no hostile demonstrations but attempts to demonstrate were made. One communist also supported the demonstrations but he was expelled from the LC. Rame Bucaj from Pec said that there were no demonstrations in Pec but hostile elements tried to demonstrate. The workers themselves were against the demonstrations. Mehmet Ibrahimaj, trade union council representative from Istok, also said that there were no hostile demonstrations in this opstina but there had been attempts to demonstrate. [Excerpts] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Apr 81 pp 3-4]

DEMONSTRATORS IDENTIFIED--At a meeting of the Podujevo Opstina LC Committee on 21 April it was said, among other things, that in Podujevo Opstina not only are the dark purposes of the enemy being condemned, but participants in the demonstrations are being concretely identified. [Excerpt] [Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 22 Apr 81 p 6]

DEMONSTRATIONS IN KOSOVSKA MITROVICA--Speaking about the current political and security situation in the opstina and in Kosovo, Nezir Prokshi, secretary of the Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina LC Conference, said that after the student demonstrations in Pristina [on 1 and 2 April] the LC organizations of the [Kosovska Mitrovica] opstina increased their activity. But organizers of the demonstrations, in a very deliberate and perfidious manner, succeeded in creating unrest by stressing the slogan "Why our children are being killed in the streets." Such disinformation, Prokshi said, had a shock effect on uninformed workers. In our estimate about 800 took part in the demonstrations on 3 April in the Kosovska Mitrovica Opstina, including a number of secondary and elementary school pupils. But, thanks to the courageous and sacrificial conduct of workers who did not join them, the demonstrations were short-lived and caused no material damage. During the demonstrations seven demonstrators and one public security worker were injured, as well as a certain number of workers who were opposing the demonstrators. Prokshi said, "I want to emphasize the good organization, conduct, and responsibility of communists and workers from the flotation plant of the Trepca enterprise in Stari Trg, those from the lead metallurgical, power and other work collectives. [Excerpt from article datelined "Pristina" by Shefki Ukaj] [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 81 p 3]

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